I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

Serious offences were punished by the offender's being excommunicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhaganḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society.

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities.

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity.

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.